

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T TAIPEI 1452

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EA ONLY

EA/ ROC MOSER FROM GLEYSTEN

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION STATE INFO HONG KONG, TOKYO MARCH

7 REPEATED YOU AGAIN: QUOTE

S E C R E T TAIPEI 1452

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TW, US, CH

SUBJ: GRC REACTION TO KISSINGER/ CHOU EN- LAI COMMUNIQUE
OF FEB. 22

1. SUMMARY. DURING PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR MARCH 5, MINISTER GEORGE YEH CONFIRMED THAT GRC LEADERSHIP HAD REACTED CALMLY TO NEWS OF US- PRC AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH LIAISON OFFICERS. HE SAID HE HAD ARGUED AGAINST ANY FORMAL GRC COMMENT AND HAD AT LEAST ACHIEVED A COMPROMISE IN THE FORM OF WATERED DOWN STATEMENT THAT WAS ACTUALLY ISSUED. YEH WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE BELIEVED THE GRC WILL HAVE TO ADAPT TO FURTHER US MOVEMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF A FULL ACCOMMODATION WITH PEKING. HOWEVER HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROCESS OF GRC ADAPTATION TO REALITIES COULD NOT GO FORWARD WITHOUT SOME DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GRC AND USG. END SUMMARY.

SECRET

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2. IN THE COURSE OF A DINNER PARTY AT THE RESIDENCE FOR AMBASSADOR AND MRS. DAVID KENNEDY, I DREW ASIDE MINISTER

W/ O PORTFOLIO GEORGE C. YEH DURING PRE- DINNER COCKTAILS FOR A BRIEF PRIVATE CONVERSATION.

3. WITH A LITTLE CAUTIOUS PROBING, I WAS ABLE TO ELICIT FROM HIM A DESCRIPTION OF THE REACTION IN HIGH GRC CIRCLES TO THE KISSINGER/ CHOW EN- LAI COMMUNIQUE OF FEB 22, AND HE THEN VOLUNTEERED SOME VIEWS AS TO STEPS NEEDED TO KEEP US- GRC RELATIONS ON AN EVEN KEEL.

4. YEH SAID THAT IN GENERAL HE AGREED WITH MY OBSERVATIONS THAT THE TOP OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT HERE HAD TAKEN THE FEB 22 COMMUNIQUE VERY MUCH IN STRIDE, SHOWING A SENSIBLE CALMNESS AND AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE COMMUNIQUE DID NOT CHANGE THE ESSENTIAL US POSTURE TOWARD THE ROC. HE ADDED HOWEVER THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME SENTIMENT IN THE CABINET FOR A RATHER SHARP GRC STATEMENT IN CRITICISM OF THIS LATEST DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON- PEKING RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE PROVISION FOR LIAISON OFFICES IN THE CAPITAL CITIES WITH DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES. HE SAID THAT IN THE EXECUTIVE YUAN MEETING TO CONSIDER THE COMMUNIQUE QUESTION, HE HAD URGED THAT NO STATEMENT BE ISSUED BY THE GRC. HE HAD ARGUED THAT GRC STATEMENTS PUT OUT AFTER THE JULY 1971 ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESIDENT NIXON, AND AFTER PRESIDENT NIXON' S MAINLAND VISIT IN FEBRUARY 1972 WERE SUFFICIENT. HE DID NOT WIN APPROVAL OF HIS POSITION, BUT THERE WAS COMPROMISE AGREEMENT ON THE CONSIDERABLY WATERED DOWN STATEMENT WHICH WAS LATER ISSUED.

5. MINISTER YEH SAID THAT HE THOUGHT HE COULD SEE THE BEGINNINGS OF A GREATER REALISM IN THE GRC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF THE MAINLAND. THERE WAS CERTAINLY MORE RESILIENCE IN DEALING WITH OPERATING PROBLEMS CREATED BY DIPLOMATIC REVERSES DURING THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF. HE SPOKE WELL OF THE STRENGTH AND THE OPENMINDEDNESS OF PREMIER CHIANG CHING- KUO. HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS WORKING VERY CLOSELY AND HARMONIOUSLY WITH HIS FELLOW MINISTER W/ O PORTFOLIO IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD, CHOW SHU- KAI. HE IMPLIED THEY WERE THINKING ALONG SIMILAR LINES AND THAT THEY HAD GOOD ACCESS TO THE PREMIER. (HE DID NOT MENTION FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN CHANG- HUAN, OR THE FOREIGN OFFICE, AT SECRET

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ANY POINT IN THE CONVERSATION.)

6. YEH SAID THAT THE PRESSING NEED OF THE MOMENT, WHICH IS INCREASINGLY PERCEIVED BY THE KEY MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, IS A FULL AND CANDID DIALOGUE BETWEEN GRC AND US REPRESENTATIVES." HE SAID THE PROCESS OF GRC ADAPTATION TO THE REALITIES OF THE CURRENT CHANGED SITUATION COULD NOT GO FORWARD AS IT SHOULD IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A DIALOGUE. HE DID NOT INDICATE

THAT ANY SPECIAL EMISSARIES WERE NEEDED, SAYING ONLY THAT " WE WILL NEED TO KNOW THAT THE US REPRESENTATIVE IS SPEAKING FOR THE WHITE HOUSE." HE SAID THAT A REALIZATION IS BEGINNING TO DAWN ON SOME OF THE KEY LOCAL LEADERSHIP THAT THE TRADITIONAL GRC POSTURE TOWARD THE MAINLAND DOES NOT CORRESPOND WITH CURRENT ACTUALITIES AND WILL HAVE TO BE MODIFIED. BEYOND THIS HE THINKS THERE IS AN UNSPOKEN RECOGNITION AMONG THOSE ELEMENTS THAT FURTHER US MOVEMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF A FULL ACCOMMODATION WITH PEKING IS INEVITABLE, THAT THE GRC WILL HAVE TO ADAPT TO THIS DEVELOPMENT AND FIND A WAY OF LIVING PEACEFULLY WITH IT. HE SAID THAT SUCH MATTERS ARE NOT DISCUSSED, EVEN OFF THE RECORD, IN OFFICIAL MEETINGS, BUT ARE INCREASINGLY DISCUSSED PRIVATELY BY LIKE - MINDED OFFICIALS IN THEIR HOMES.

7. IN RESPONSE TO MY PROBING AS TO WHAT SORT OF DIALOGUE HE ENVISAGED, YEH SAID THAT THE GRC NEEDED TO BE TOLD IN ALL FRANKNESS THE MINIMUM AND THE MAXIMUM THAT MIGHT BE ASKED OF THE GRC BY THE US IN THE COURSE OF THE US NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING. YEH SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HERE WOULD REMAIN UNALTERABLY COMMITTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE ON TAIWAN AND THE EXISTING PROSPERITY AND WELLBEING OF THE TAIWAN POPULACE. THIS WAS A FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION THAT COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT BE COMPROMISED. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP ON THAT. BEYOND THAT, HE THOUGHT THAT AN IMPRESSIVE DECREE OF FLEXIBILITY MIGHT GRADUALLY BE BROUGHT ABOUT. THE CATALYST THAT WAS NEEDED WAS A LARGE DEGREE OF FORTHCOMINGNESS BY THE

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